★ EDUCATION ★ ORGANIZATION ★ EMANCIPATION

Industrial Worker

"AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL"

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Left Side

The Kansas City Times of November 25 devoted a full-page to IWW history. Beginning with the free speech fight of 1913 in K.C. (Missouri), the story centered on IWW activities in oil and agriculture and on the "Wichita indictment" which resulted in the famous trial of 28 Wobblies in 1919 in Federal Court, Kansas City, Kansas.

It's easier to dig up written records of labor and report on them more or less acurately than to make an intelligent estimate of the forces now building up pressures within the ranks of 70 million U.S. workers, organized and unorganized.

The IWW does not live today, as the Times writer says, "in gray offices it has occupied since 1930 at 2422 N. Halsted Street in Chicago." The IWW spirit lives and is at work in many places, even inside some of the show-case unions of today, and it's a potent ferment stirring up new sentiment for the One Big Union of All Workers, for direct action, and for a new society in which civilized living can be realized by everyone. The old IWW really lives and it is growing. But the Times got Headquarters' address right. For this we are grateful.

* * *

Lumber and building industries are among those that are not heard singing praises to present prosperity. They look forward to declining business and profits. There are others. The "space" industry is catching up on contracts and it is estimated that one-fourth of the 400,000 workers employed in the man-on-the-moon and related projects will soon be looking for jobs.

"Man is having a hell of a time disposing of his waste," T-Bone Slim remarked years ago. Now it is said that a handful of atomic residue can be a menace for hundreds of years. What will they do with the stuff when the atom becomes the chief source of power, displacing coal and oil? The coal industry is already worried; not because of the waste-disposal problem, but because it fears the competition.

WHAT'S THE BIG RUSH?

An army sergeant had been placed in charge of the carrier pigeons. One day, one of the pigeons returned five hours late. "What happened?" asked the sergeant. "Nothing," said the pigeon. "It was just so nice out, I decided to walk."

International Labor Solidarity Is Possible, Necessary



"A good union is the best Santa Claus," my pop says.

What has happened to the old idea that the workers of the world have a large common interest and should stick together? Has it become entirely lost in these years when the external efforts of the union bodies of the various countries primarily serve their various governments?

There were some faint stirrings in the general direction of the old idea this summer when Reuther criticised AFL-CIO withdrawal from the innocent labor-business-government gabfest called the ILO, and sought a review of labor foreign policy by the AFL-CIO Executive Council. This was set for November 15, but the day came and the only challenge to the Meany-Lovestone line was the proposal from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers to approve letting mainland China into the UN.

Reuther decided not to be there. He may have felt that the cause of enlightenment might better be served by adding no more precedents as barriers against it. He may not have liked the election returns. He may have forgotten that in Dearborn over 40% voted for immediate withdrawal from Viet Nam with no strings attached.

He may have interpreted the election as a triumph for reaction and nationalism, and felt like Merrheim, the French union leader explaining why, when World War I got going, the unions dared not call that general strike they had previously extolled as the means for preventing war: "The working class, roustd by a powerful current of nationalism, would not have left the task of shooting us to the agents of the government; it would have shot us itself."

In those days world labor solidarity was at least given lip-service and upheld as an ideal. In 1908 the French Labor Congress had resolved: "The Congress declares that it must, from the international point of view, educate the workingmen so that in case of war between the powers, the workingmen will respond to the declaration of war by a declaration of a revolutionary general strike."

This position was continuously reaffirmed between 1908 and the war in 1914. It came to nothing because it was workable only if upheld and put into practice by the workers on all sides of the international dispute, and this

(Continued on page 8)

When Do We Decide to Act for Us?

Once again on November 8th, fellow-workers, you've been to the polls. Tweedledum has been exchanged for Tweedledee and you may have felt you were expressing an opinion for or against the war in Viet Nam, for or against the Great Society which encompasses such familiar pie-in-the-sky ideas as better schools, better housing, cleaner cities and rivers, improved medical care. You might have been concerned about your fixed wages and your increased food bill, your fixed wages and the increased interest rates, your fixed wages and inflation.

Well you had your chance. As you stood on the threshhold and determined which really was the lesser of two evils, you pulled the levers, marked the squares and finalized the power and authority of government for another year.

Here are some of the last minute deals that were made in Congress:

(1) Melwin Laird, Rep., Wisc., took $800,000 out of anti-poverty funds and assigned it to a tribe of Indians in his district in Wisconsin.

(2) Claude Pepper got $5 million for a permanent trade fair in Florida — San Antonio, Texas also got an appropriation for a similar fair.

(3) Doctors, lawyers and other professionals got tax deductions for "private pension plans" while the elderly were denied extra deductions for medical expenses.

(4) Big businessmen had their investment tax credit repealed as an antidote to inflation.

(5) Taxpayers will check a box on their 1967 income tax return to allocate $1.00 of their income tax to either the Republican or the Democratic party. Third parties may qualify when they have 5 million votes. The money is to be used only for the presidential campaign; the law will go into effect in 1967.

What is the antidote to all this chicanery? When will someone put into effect a less cumbersome, more effective system? When will we stop accepting the authority of an exploiting class and use some of our brain power collectively as one big working class to come up with a solution to our problems of living together and sharing the things we produce and the natural wealth that nature provides? At what point do we decide we do not need to be ruled, policed, carted off to war?

—Jack Sheridan

Tea and Sympathy

On Nov. 22 a thousand striking white collar workers tied up 30 million tons of tea in warehouses and plantations in Ceylon. That's 30 thousand tons of tea per striker. Other workers stood by in sympathy.

"An Injury to One Is an Injury to All" ● *One Union One Label One Enemy*

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It should be understood by members and others who read this paper that it is the policy of the I.W.W. to designate as OFFICIAL any articles or policies which have the regular official sanction. Anything not so designated is not official. All other matter herein contained is the mere personal expression of the individuals or individual writing or editing the same.

Spotlighting the Department of Justice

December 9 through 15 is national Bill of Rights Week. This year on December 15, citizens so inclined will celebrate the 175th anniversary of the Bill of Rights, that important part of the Constitution which asserts the basic freedoms of speech, assembly and religion; and which guarantees DUE PROCESS OF LAW and equality under the law.

Like the majority of Americans, labor will quite properly leave observance of the occasion to that small professional group, chiefly in public schools, who get paid for polishing up the relics of the 18th century revolution. But though labor isn't, it ought to be in the thick of the fight against every violation of the basic rights set forth in the Bill of Rights.

Commemoration of past achievement is no substitute for present action. A declaration of principle is not automatically accompanied by its enforcement. Even a "guaranteed" freedom has to be fought for again and again. Labor rights in particular can't be held secure in our society except at the cost of immediate resistance to every violation. Almost everybody knows this. Right now the continuing fight of Negroes for realized civil rights, as contrasted to legal civil rights, points up the vast gap between human freedom as scribed on the blueprint and the reality of every-day practice.

* * *

A less spectacular instance but one that is as important as any other to all who strive for social justice and maximum amount of freedom possible in a new well-ordered society is the illegal attempt of the U.S. Justice Department to choke off the growth and functioning of revolutionary industrial unionism by publicly branding the IWW "subversive."

In April 1949, the then Attorney General and head of the Department, listed the IWW as "an organization seeking to alter the form of government by unconstitutional means." Thus on the authority of a government bureau, the IWW was labeled subversive and put on the Attorney General's so-called subversive list. This listing was done without "due process of law." It misrepresented the character of the organization to the public and thereby inflicted punishment without a trial.

By what process the Department reached the decision to "list" the IWW is not known. If the process, whatever it was, constituted a trial, it was one in which the accuser, the prosecutor and the judge were one and the same. Moreover, it was a "trial" held in secret without the presence of the accused, and even without his knowledge.

So much for the Bill of Rights when its enforcement is in the hands of bureaucrats whose prejudices against social progress are sharpened by immediate political pressures. (We guess that the wish of union rivals to squeeze the IWW out of certain industrial areas had much to do with getting the IWW wrongfully branded as an enemy of "constitutional means.")

The organization did not neglect to demand of the Justice Department that it state the specific charges on which it based its decision to list the IWW. The organization demanded that it be given an opportunity to refute any such charges. The charges were not made known to the IWW. No hearing was granted.

Aside from this, the IWW continued with characteristic singleness of purpose to work at the bulding of the one big union of all workers, for immediate purposes of labor and distant goals clearly stated in its Preamble and in other literature, none of which says anytinhg about changing the form of government by any kind of means.

Following the listing, it at once became apparent that an old difficulty had been worsened. Apprehension about joining the IWW slowed down recruiting. Outright fear, of what an irresponsible Justice Department official might do next no doubt was one major reason for a rash of drop-outs in the first years following the listing. Since then, the membership has remained stable. But there is absolutely no question about it, the IWW has suffered from the listing, and the grievance remains.

This year, following the earlier successful outcome in federal court of a citizenship case in which membership in the IWW was an important element, it was decided to take the listing case into court on the chance that justice, not to be had in the administrative department of government, might be found in the judicial department.

Accordingly, suit against the Justice Department was filed by the IWW in Federal Court in Washington, D.C. What followed is recent history. On June 21, Judge Holzoff cavalierly dismissed the IWW complaint on the flimsy ground that the organization did not make formal objection to the listing in the 10-day period arbitrarily set by the Justice Department.

The case is now before the Federal Court of Appeals, also in Washington, D.C. Marshall Patner, attorney for the IWW, considers this to be the best chance yet for the organization, and for any other concerned appelant, to raise basic questions regarding the entire procedure whereby several hundred organizations got placed on the subversive list. It is now expected that the case will go to trial in January or soon thereafter. The IWW will be the accuser with the Justice Department in the role of defendant. The IWW will argue that the whole listing procedure was wrong.

If the Attorney General wants to charge the IWW with misconduct let him bring his charges legally and properly in court. His private departmental Kangaroo Court with its terrific mischief-making power is a menace that should be wiped out.

* * *

Everyone who has carefully read IWW literature knows that this organization contends that the foundation for a new society can be laid within the frame work of the old. "By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old," says the Preamble to the IWW Constitution. Clearly the process of building the new structure is made possible and is shaped by progress made within the old. Among the achievements of the old social order in which we now live, along with vast material development, was the establishment of a Bill of Rights. We propose to fight in the present and in the future, just as we have throughout our history, for every right and every protection it supposedly guarantees. To do less would be to renege on what we have proclaimed to be our mission.

Granted that winning this fight against the Attorney General is not "organizing industrially," but it will remove an obstacle to such organization that has slowed us down for too many years. You, patient reader, can help win this fight.

The General Defense Committee of the IWW in its annual appeal for donations for defense and class war relief funds is stressing the need for money to carry on this legal battle. Even though lawyers' services have thus far been donated, a very considerable sum still must be raised. Mail your contribution to the General Defense Committee, 2422 North Halsted St., Chicago, Ill. 60614.

Industrial Worker Donations

The following donations to the Industrial Worker fund drive which closed at the end of October were received after the November issue of the paper came off the press:

Julius Kish	**$10.00**
William Welch	**2.50**
Joe Ruby	**10.00**
Elmer Anderson	**10.00**
Total	**$ 32.50**
Previously acknowledged	**2,320.40**
Grand Total	**$2,352.90**

The "common purpose of labor and capital" line is an illusion. "Reconsiliation of conflicting interests" in the class struggle is a fraud.

Wesley Everest's Grave

Editor:

A question has come to mind and it is one that I have heard asked by other interested persons. Where is Wesley buried? It would be interesting to know this, if the answer has not been lost through the years.

A November 11 article in our Tacoma daily retold the story of the Centralia lynching, and the businessmen's conspiracy that preceded it, on Armistice Day in 1919. Again the account of this event was steeped in prejudice against the IWW victims. However, it did stress the fact that the murderers of Wesley Everest were never arrestd.) No one has ever doubted that their identity was known to a large number of people.

—J. E.

OFFICIAL NOTICES

BRANCH MEETINGS

HOUSTON, Texas. — Robert (Blackie) Vaughan is the acting Secretary of the Houston I.U. 510 branch. All communications intended for the branch should be addressed to him at 7505 Navigation Blvd., Houston, Tex. 77011.

* * *

SAN FRANCISCO. — Michael Brown, 26 Prospect Avenue, San Francisco, Calif. 94110, is acting secretary for the branch pending decision on the opening of a new branch office.

* * *

BERKELEY, Cali. — For information about meetings, socials, and other activities contact Robert Rush, Secretary, 1723 10th St., Telephone: 524-1989.

* * *

DULUTH, Minn. — Write to Pat McMillan, Stationary Delegate, P.O. Box 559 for information and contacts.

* * *

CHICAGO branch general membership meetings are now being held on the first Friday of the month at 2422 N. Halsted Street. W. H. Westman, Secretary.

* * *

NEW YORK CITY — Branch Secretary is Douglas Roycroft. Mailing address and business office: 71 East 3rd St. No., 14, New York, N.Y. 10003. Tel. 477-2758.

* * *

YAKIMA, Wash. — For information about work and organization opportunities in the fruit and farm areas of Eastern Washington, get in touch with George C. Underwood, 102 South 3rd Ave., telephone GLencourt 3-2046.

* * *

LOS ANGELES, Calif. — IWW Stationary Delegate, P.O. Box 46583, Los Angeles; or call EX 88110.

See McAndrew in Vancouver

Fellow Workers, seamen and others, stopping over in Vancouver, B.C. are invited to call on Stationary Delegate J. B. McAndrew at 1896 W. I Ave., basement apartment; or telephone 738-7864.

Fred Mitchell Dies

Portland, Oreg.— Fellow worker Fred Mitchell died suddenly October 12 at Avery, Idaho from a heart attack.

A member of I.U. No. 120, Fellow worker Mitchell was a strong advocate and supporter of the IWW program. He was well known throughout the Northwest and will be missed by fellow workers and friends. —E.A.

SANTA WEARS A PRICE TAG

The Christmas shopper, making flurried last-minute purchases in the mad department store jungle, worries about whether fastidious Cousin Lou will return the gloves to the store for a refund, and whether Aunt Em's blue nylon scarf will match her eyes. From all sides Madam Shopper is bombarded by announcements over loudspeakers. "See our new educational toys for children who have everything." "Get a five-pound box of extra special candy to tempt that jaded taste." "Buy a $2.98 bottle of perfume with scent like a million ollars."

Our commercialized season of giving intensifies the senseless competitiveness so zealously exercised the rest of the year. We behold the absurd spectacle of people making purchases beyond their means for recipients who neither need nor desire their gifts.

Charity groups take advantage of the holiday spirit to beseach alms for a variety of human afflictions. We are beseiged by these mendicants on every corner. They thumb our doorbells, they invade our factories and offices for a third and fourth request. It is only the toughest of us who withstand the cajoling, wheedling, needling, and downright demands of the organized charity mongers.

We might excuse these bold crusades if our money really reached the sick, the halt, and the poor. But we lack even this assurance. Administrative costs and questionable side issues consume an indeterminate amount of charitable donations.

A lavish banquet recently held in Los Angeles in honor of regional bellringers was condoned on the grounds of common practice. One volunteer worker, more artless than the others, protested, "I thought I was raising money for **poor** people!"

Fund-raising drives have always regaled the donor more than the recipient. Doubtless the refugees of World War II were direly in need of donations. But the numerous teas, dinners, banquets, and dances designed to raise money for the starving victims served also to swell the egoes of fulsome after-dinner speakers and fatten the feasters.

At last one matron in charge of arrangements promised an unusual board of fair, a menu never to be forgotten. When the hour arrived, eager diners at $10 a head filed into the banquet hall anticipating a tasty repast. What they found was a table bare of every article of food except a large pitcher of water and a plate of unbuttered bread! This, their mistress of ceremonies pointed out, was a more sumptuous meal than the starving victims of Nazism knew.

* * *

There is another kind of giving that is appropriate the year around — giving of our time and earnest labor to those who help themselves and others. Give a warm coat to a discouraged picket and you butress confidence in the fight for a better world. Donate an hour at the mimeograph, and give a new lease of life to civil liberties. Give a buck to the destitute family of a striking grape picker and quaff the sweet wine of gratitude. A contribution of blankets and warm soup to Negro civil rights workers ordered off their land for demanding equality represents more than warmth and nourishment. A chearing letter to a c.o. in jail will remind him those on the outside are behind him. Give to the poor old **Industrial Worker** — poor in finances, old in service!

Don't let a fund-raising feast stand between you and the freedom fighter. Boycott Santa Claus! Give yourself, and you put the wide world in your debt.

—**Dorice McDaniels**

Get Acquainted

IWW members visiting in New York or passing through are invited to contact Branch Secretary Doug Roycroft. Find address and phone number in "Official Notices," page 3. For special treatment, send advance notice.

Military-Industrial Complex Milks USA

A recent book, "In the Name of Science," by H. L. Nieberg (Quadrangle) explores how Uncle Sam, the biggest spender of all times, gets taken all the more readily by contract hunters because of the competition inside the military services by each branch to extend its influence.

This University of Wisconsin professor finds that while this may be tough on the taxpayers, it is very profitable for the free enterprisers, such as the Thompson-Wooldridge outfit that pyramided an investment of a few thousand dollars into a multimillion dollar corporation. He points to another kind of consequence unfavorable to the general run of the population: research and development get concentrated on devising something that can be sold to the military rather than on ordinary plebian needs.

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Preamble

• THE WORKING CLASS and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of management of the industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trade unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wage for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

• IT IS THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

Murder For Profit In A Welsh Coal Town

(Excerpt from "Aberfam and the Price of Coal" by Arthur Moyse, published in "Freedom" October 24.)

At 9:15 a.m. on Friday, October 21, the children of Pantglas Junior School, within the Welsh mining village of Aberfan, sat at their desks. A grey morning made greyer by the huge black tip of drifting slime that had for many years overshadowed the small school. For 80 years this refuse of the local coal industry had grown inch by inch to finally take command of the village, and men and women lived out their lives within its rare shadow. But this was not the acceptance of an indifferent community, for year after year they had protested, through all those official channels, that death from a river of black slime would one day sweep down and destroy them but abstract authority brushed their untutored fears aside. At 9:10 in the morning the mountain of black slime began to flow and at 9:21 200 small children began to drown in its inescapable maw.

There is to be an inquiry and men, of their nature, will twist and distort the facts to serve their own particular ends and some unfortunate may or may not be held to be publicly responsible for the death of these 200 children. But let us not delude ourselves. Though minor figures in this masque of death will be pilloried before the community, those who are responsible for this unnecessary tragedy will never take their place within a public dock.

It is idle to catalogue the list of all those who gave private and public testament that this evil would take place. Tory and Labour councillors, ministers of the local churches, schoolteachers (one of whom died within the broken school). union officials, all (over the years) added their voices to the impotent cry of protest to those in authority and nothing was done. Even when the men who daily worked upon the tip gave their warning they were told to carry on for, in all honesty, what management at a local level could dispose of thousands of tons of oozing sludge. So nothing was done.

When the men protested through their union that the telephone between the tip and the colliery was no longer in working order (the wire had been stolen) the union secretary had to inform them that it was not compulsory to have a telephone and so the phone that might have saved lives hung useless. Yet who among us can swear in true faith that, within his own place of employment, some item of safety equipment does not also hang useless and idle?

When mineable coal was discovered in Wales a nation dug its own grave for the landless peasants found themselves herded into the rat-runs of the earth to hack forth its wealth for a foreign market.

To the Welsh people the rich coal beneath their sweet soil became a black cancer and generation after generation of men lived out their miserable lives in the darkness of the contracted earth and they became another slum proletariat doomed to slave out their short lives within the drear valleys wherein grass refused to grow. For the mine owners were absentee owners and, were they Welsh or English, they took from the Welsh people their ill-paid labour and the coal beneath their feet and in return they robbed a people of their dignity to live as free men and to show their contempt they spewed forth the refuse of their rapacity onto the green fields of Wales and the gentle beds of its lush valleys.

Those who chose to rob the people of Wales had neither the legal obligation, the intention or the desire, to haul away the unmarketable leavings of these rich pickings from the earth and year by year these huge black monuments to the infamy of corporate greed fouled the fields and streams of a once fair country.

But the men and women of Wales were not work-animals content to eat their bitter bread in silence and without protest and the story of their industrial war became a magnificent roll call of those who fought, yea even to the very pit face, for what they held to be their heritage. When a Labour Government came into office and took the pits under State Ownership many believed that now at last the day had come when the men of Wales would at last control their own destinies, but all they found were new masters and the black tombstones of industrial refuse continued to flower like festering scabs upon the barren fields, where once the overseer for the absentee owner had first poured forth his profitless filth.

The dream of a Wales green and flowering again became once more the mocked fantasy of the romantic and the nationalist, the anarchist with his cry of the good society, and the dreaming child, while the belief that the socialist society had finally taken its stand and that now, not only would the rich coal be hauled away to feed the furnaces of that socialist society, but all the millions of tons of black filth would be hauled away to fill the crevasses in some unclaimed sea bed and grass would once more grow within the valleys and sheep would graze again, became the dream of an unclaimed hour.

It was indeed an idle dream for an idle moment for the State offered the people of Wales the Old Capitalism dressed in the garb of the Man from the Ministry, and for the black and foul smelling tips Section 180 of the Coal Mines Act, that gave each colliery the legal right to leave its black spew where it lay. This is the story and the tragedy of the people of Wales and all the years of struggle appear to have been wasted, for the black slime that killed their children was laid 80 years ago in the evil days of private profit and it killed their children in the era of State Ownership.

As in the past they chose to exploit these mines within the framework of the orthodox profit system and within that system, as the old time mineowners would have told them, it was uneconomical to clear the land of these black and sterile hills of uneconomic filth and so these children died.

Yet the struggle must still be fought within these valleys for the right of men to live, to work and die in peace and dignity, and only when the grass once more grows green around the graves of these innocent dead will Wales be free.

FRANKLY SPEAKING

Everett E. Luoma

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR WOMEN

Despite the protests of men, this is not a woman's world. In fact one can say that women suffer considerable discrimination concerning wages, employment opportunities, and in day to day relationships with men. This relationship probably became accepted tradition because capitalist society was unable to find enough employment for both men and women.

Because of this discrimination Congress was moved to include job rights for women in the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Although one can hardly object to equal rights for women, the difficulties this law creates in an economy that experiences shortage of jobs can be instructive.

These difficulties are best illustrated by the meat packing industry and, specifically, the Rath Packing Co. of Waterloo, Iowa. Meat packing companies have been hard hit by a hog shortage and Rath has had other financial difficulties.

As in most industries, female employes at Rath traditionally were the first to be layed off when business turned sour. This generally was accepted as a fact of life by both sexes. But since the passage of the Civil Rights Act, layoffs are determined by seniority, not sex. As a result, there now are 450 men on layoff at Rath's Waterloo plant, while the entire female force of 500 continues working.

Soon after the law took effect, Rath women began complaining. In September, 27 women who had been laid off as far back as 1964 filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission demanding reinstatement. All but one had at least 15 years seniority. Men with as little as five years seniority were still working at the time. "A kid with two weeks seniority got my job," insists Mrs. Dorothy Farrell, a friendly, heavy-set 43-years-old who had worked in the Rath plant since 1951 on a variety of jobs, including trimming tongues and scooping brains out of hog carcasses.

In fact, most women working at Rath started there during World War II as replacements for men departing for military duty, and are more senoir than most male employes.

Often the employment for the women is essential. Mrs. Farrell, for instance, was divorced in 1957 and has supported herself since. At Rath, she was making about $112 weekly until she was laid off. After her lay-off, she found that other employers did not wish to hire her because she might go back to the plant at any time.

"The best thing I could find was for $27.50 a week, plus meals, scrubbing floors in a local nursing home," she said. "If I hadn't been able to live with my mother, I don't know how I would have made it."

To resolve the dispute, a plan was proposed in a union meeting to merge the male and female seniority lists. The younger men backed the plan because then the women could be forced to perform tasks most would find physically impossible and thereby be eliminated. But the plan was defeated by a vote of 1,300 to 600.

Finally last April company and union officials worked out an agreement providing for three job categories — jobs primarily for men, jobs primarily for women and jobs that could be performed by either. Under this new plan, the company in early May invited 120 women on layoff to return to work and 92 accepted. An equal number of men were thrown out of work.

But this did not make all the women happy. The women who had been working argued that those recalled were given the choice jobs while those who had been working were given the bloodier and more odorous ones.

The battle of the sexes promises to continue. An added difficulty arises from the fact that several husband and wife teams work at the plant. Although it hasn't happened yet, the husbands may be layed off with the wives continuing to work.

Workers pursue other aims than management.

The IWW and the New Left

The recent emergence of a "New Left" on American campuses seems to offer the IWW a challenging opportunity to influence, if not recruit left-wing intellectuals. The most respected spokesmen for this New Left are already familiar with IWW history and principles. Staughton Lynd, professor of history at Yale, has included in his anthology **Non-Violence in America** Haywood's testimony before the Commission on Industrial Relations. And articles examining "student syndicalism" have appeared in **New Left Notes**, the journal of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS).

Although interested in syndicalism (which I would define as revolutionary trade **or** industrial unionism), New Leftists are reluctant to join the IWW for several reasons. Advertising agencies have conditioned most Americans, including the New Left, to regard anything over a decade old as archaic—thus, the New Left in politics, the "New Thing" in jazz, "Pop" and "Op" art, **etc.**

Since the IWW has been around 61 years, the New Left feels Wobblies have little to say. Furthermore, New Leftists like everyone else are impressed with success. Since the "Old Left" has not led a successful revolution, dissident intellectuals often ignorant of the errors as well as the victories of the Old Left, have abandoned established working-class movements and have begun to build new radical organizations. Finally, the most pedantic intellectuals contend that gaucheries in Wobbly rhetoric, logic, and behavior preclude the IWW from advocating a practical or significant alternative to contemporary American society.

Despite the reluctance of intellectuals to join or listen to the IWW, Wobblies can still reach some New Leftists. In searching for a consistent ideology, the New Left probably will continue to explore syndicalism and, more specifically, revolutionary industrial unionism. The IWW will then serve as an example and source of inspiration for a new generation of revolutionaries. The ultimate test of the IWW's success in dealing with the New Left will not be the number of students the union recruits, but the number of students Wobblies encourage to fight for a better world.

—Mike Johnson

THE RICH MAN'S LOVE

The rich are but intelligent pirates. Preying upon the weaker members of the society of which they are a part, these masters of greed risk neither life nor liberty in the practice of their nefarious trade, for they are, indeed, society itself. It is their law, they administer it.

Their booty is profit exacted from the labor of the working class. They prosper on the needs, the anxieties, and the frustrations of the poor.

Things as they are today suit them very well, though they would have liked them better stlil had they remained as they were yesterday. For them, this is the best of all possible worlds.

They would fight for a continuation of the status quo, though in the wars into which they lead us, most of the fighting is done by those who, in times of peace, contribute to their wealth.

Their patriotism is a false pride, based upon many assumptions, all lacking in validity. The country that they claim to love so well is a geographical, political, and social entity so vast in extent that the human beings who constitute its citizenry lose their identity within its enveloping coils. None love it, though most of us depend upon it in some fashion. The resulting emotion is a material, selfish thing, unworthy of being called love.

High in the seat of government at Washington sit these rich men whom we have placed there to control the destiny of our mighty nation.

Over all, with the choice of peace or war in his hands, sits the High Plutocrat, President Lyndon B. Johnson.

* * *

We thought him a man of peace when first we made him honored tenant of our White House, for those were the days when he spoke forthrightly of the delights of peace and lofty thoughts of wars no more for all mankind. But now, alas, we plow the fields of Vietnam with bayonet and bomb and fertilize the rice with blood and flesh, for the man in whom we put our trust has turned about and led us down the dreary way to wars unending.

—J. F. McDaniels

BOOK REVIEW:

Poets Prospect; Few Hit Paydirt

BY CARLOS CORTEZ

Poems Read In The Spirit Of Peace And Gladness, $2.00. Peace And Gladness Co-op Press, 2920 Harper, Berkeley, California.

During the year 1965 a group of poets banded together and called themselves the "Poets Union of the IWW" and in fact gave a number of readings at the IWW Hall in San Francisco. This volume put out by the Peace and Gladness Co-op Press is a collection of verse from these readings.

Though the poets whose work is represented here have identified themselves with the IWW, much of the material bears little relation to the aims and purposes of the organization with which they have identified themselves. With the exception of such contributors as Thanasis Maskaleris and Dave Rich, the bulk of the material contains little of anything bearing any relation to social protest.

This is only to warn the readers of this paper that this is not a collection of social protest poetry. However, for those who are interested in seeing. As many of imagery in between some very obscuritantist and often woeful mediocre poetry, this is a volume that poetry aficionados would be interested in reading beautiful these contributors have been long residents of the West Coast, there are some beautiful evocations of the scenic granduer as well as the more commonplace things of the California area that make this an anthology in its own right. There is also a lot of esoteric eroticism and just plain crap to be waded thru but those who don't mind spending two bucks will still find a few gems.

Particularly good are the poems of Thanasis Maskaleris and his translations of contemporary Greek poets, and the nature poems of Dave Rich whose work contains some biting social commentary such as when he asks,

"Oh, America, undo your corset
And let me explore you.
We have so much to discover."

And from a translation of Nikeforos Vrettakos by Maskaleris this gem:

BORDERS AND SOLDIERS
Soldiers are needed to guard
the borders;
borders are needed for the
the existence of soldiers—
soldiers and borders in order
to prevent
the laws of the Sun and poetry
from doing their jobs.

Some Zips Missing

The Industrial Worker mailing list is still in need of the zip code numbers of some subscribers. All U.S. subscribers have a zip code number as a part of their address. If we haven't got yours, please send it in.

....The point of greatest impact of working people on society is on the job. Get organized. Act union.

Civil Rights For Women

Some employers are playing with the legal ban against sex discrimination in employment much as railroad workers used to put pressure on management by overly diligent adherence to all the rules in the book. One recent gripe arose when the job of looking after the ladies' restroom in the factory was given to a man, and during his two-hour cleaning of the premises the female workers all had to hunt up other facilities.

This fall several hnudred men, all members of Packinghouse Workers lost their traditionally male jobs to laid-off union sisters. Formerly seniority lists were kept separate, just like rest-rooms for men and women. To conform to the Civil Rights Act, they were combined and women laid off for anything less than two years were enabled to bump men with less seniority from any job the women could handle.

Earlier the Act had been used by Delaware politicians as an excuse for repealing all the laws they had reluctantly adopted at one time or another to restrict the exploitation of female workers. (At the end of 1929 only China, Japan and USA permitted night work in factories for women.) Other states have requested rulings on whether the Civil Rights Act permits them to keep women from digging underground in coal mines, or working the graveyard shift in a rolling mill.

Labor History Class

Conducted by the Chicago IWW branch, Tuesday evenings, 7:30 to 9:30.

Third and fourth weeks — December 6 and 13. Typical events of the 1930's and 1940's:

- Rise of UAW — Toledo to GMC strike.
- Minneapolis Teamsters strike.
- San Francisco Maritime strike.
- Sit-down strikes.
- Memorial Day Massacre.
- Launching of the CIO.

Fifth week — December 20. Labor Legislation in the 1940's:

- Legislation before Taft-Hartley Act.
- Various controls over unions (to 1950).

Make With the Zip

The Post Office has informed us that after January 1, 1967 no second or fourth class mail, which includes the Industrial Worker, will be delivered to addresses without having the ZIP CODE on the address.

If we do not as yet have your ZIP CODE number please supply us with the same before the end of this year.

W. H. Westman,
Business Manager

Modest Raise

Attorneys have ordered themselves a $5 an hour pay raise. Organized lawyers now figure their work-time is worth $25—not for a day, friend, but for an hour.

PAGES FROM IWW HISTORY

THE SPOKANE FREE SPEECH FIGHT, 1909

By RICHARD BRAZIER

Looking backward across a span of 57 years to the now well known Free Speech Fight of 1909, it is hard to find men who took part in it still alive today; or who, if still living, retain more than a dim recollection of that event. Time plays tricks with memories blurred by the passing years. What was once clear and vivid becomes vague and shadowy. That, to some extent, has happened to me. But I still remember in some detail the conditions that led to that historic fight for free speech.

This struggle had its own special background. Spokane was a small but growing town that still retained some features of its frontier days. In 1907, when I first saw it, it was one of the few wide-open towns so common in the old Northwest. Everything went there. Prostitution and gambling were legalized. The red light district was the showplace of the town. Saloons were numerous. Some of them put on burlesque shows to attract customers. Others, known as "Micky Finn's" joints, always had knockout cocktails on hand to serve patrons who flashed their 'stakes' openly. Graft was rife and drunkeness was epidemic.

In addition to its sinful attractions, Spokane had its commercial advantages. It was the Hub of the Inland Empire, a territory that reached to the Cascades on one side and into Idaho and Montana on the other. It was the shipping point for job-buying thousands of migratory workers who worked in the industries of the area.

Here the migrants came either to buy jobs and be shipped out to them or to spend the stakes they had made; then, when down to their last few dollars, to buy another job, repeating the process over and over again.

This is why the IWW came to Spokane. We wanted to organize these thousands of wandering men who were exploited not only on the job, but who, whenever they came to town, were the prey of those who specialized in ways of deceit to rook workers of their wages. Exploited on the job, they were robbed, cheated and gypped off the job.

It was not the illurement of sinful life that brought the IWW to Spokane. It was the economic factor of many thousands of workers being available for organization there. There was no semblance of organization among the migrants. They were a faceless mass of humanity moving from job to job with no sense of direction or unity.

The IWW proposed to change this state of affairs and to instill into the minds of the wanderers the necessity for organization and solidarity. To the pure and simple craft unions these men were the ables of the country's workforce. To the "aristocrats of labor," the migrants were beyond the pale and not worth anybody's trouble to organize. The IWW thought differently and showed, in fact that they could be organized.

The Wobblies involved in this struggle were largely migratory workers themselves. They knew what the conditions on the jobs were. They knew how fierce was the exploitation. They knew about the long hours, the miserly pay and about the dirty, miserable conditions in the camps in which they had to live while working.

Wobblies knew, too, about the pitfalls set for the migrant when, fed up with the monotony of his life and in possession of a "stake," he made for the bright lights of Spokane where he could go on a spree to forget his troubles, only to find that he was fleeced every step of the way by those lying in wait for his kind. Pimps, hustlers, gamblers, saloonkeepers, runners for cockroach stores, all were bent on getting their share of his hard-earned stake.

In addition, there was the employment shark. Generally, no matter how foolishly this worker threw his money around, he would try to save enough of it to pay the employment agent's fee for a shipment to another job—a job just as miserable as the one he left.

While it was hard to explain to the average worker just how he was exploited on the job, it was no trouble to show him how he was robbed when some shark sold him a job that did not exist; or a job where the three gang system—a coming, going and working gang—was in operation, and he found that he was never on the steady working gang, but always on the coming or going gang. Then it was clear to him that he was robbed, and in a bare-faced way to boot.

So it was no wonder that over the years a feeling of deep resentment against employment agents as a class appeared and that it grew bitter and strong. Professionally they called themselves "agents," but the workers knew them as "sharks" and considered every employment office nothing better than a robber's nest.

In those days there were no state or municipal employment offices to help workers find work. Private business obtained through contacts and contracts what amounted to a monopoly on the hiring of labor for all the big industries in and even beyond the Inland Empire. Thus the "sharks" controlled the first and most important necessity of the workers' lives. And to them the workers had to come to buy the jobs they wanted to get the wages they needed in order to live.

Since there were no rules and regulations to control their business, the sharks were a law unto themselves and could sell their jobs at their own prices on a take it or leave it basis.

During the panic year of 1907-1908 not much could be done toward curbing the excesses of the employment racket because there were no jobs to sell. Many shark offices were closed tight. The panic which put the entire Northwest on the bum over night, hit the sharks just as it did the working stiffs. It was not until late in 1908 that things began to open up and job signs became more plentiful on the skidroad. It was then that the employment agencies began their nefarious trade and tactics again in full strength.

By the same token, so did the IWW begin to operate in greater strength. Though badly battered by the panic we had survived it with organization intact, and were now growing apace.

J. H. Walsh, with his wife and his Overall Brigade, arrived in Spokane during the summer of 1908 and, as National Organiter, carried on an extensive organization drive until he left for the 1908 IWW Convention. By the time Walsh left for Chicago, we had moved right down among the workers in the Slave Market, Spokane's Skidroad, and in the best union hall we ever had in Spokane. We had four growing Industrial Union Locals, that formed the Spokane Branch of the IWW and were waging a relentless war against the employment sharks, sparked by the efforts of J. H. Walsh, who hated their very guts, and made no bones about it.

When Walsh left for Chicago the sharks were happy men, when he returned after the Convention, they were not so happy. I think they looked upon him as the one man who might be their Nemesis, even though on two occasions he had saved them from the fury of workers they had swindled.

One innovation that Walsh introduced was the opening of an IWW employment office in the wobbly hall. Most of the jobs were based on information sent in by members working outside Spokane. Their information was more authentic than any made-up information that the employment sharks passed out about the jobs they sold. A paid up card was the fee required to get a job at the IWW hall. It was, of course, no serious menace to the employment sharks, but it was an annoyance to them because they thought the idea might spread. It made a good talking point for Walsh to use in his talks about them.

There is no doubt that Walsh was a thorn in the sides of the sharks, and he was one of the reasons why the employment agencies banded together to oppose the IWW and were trying to get them banned from the streets of Spokane. They had called upon the City Council to find ways and means to stop the IWW from interfering with their business, defaming their name and "making false charges" against them. But, in the beginning at least, the City Council took no action.

It wasn't until later that things began to look serious. Then the city began to search for a law they could use against the IWW, that would ban them from using the streets for their meetings. Evidently the employment sharks had been digging into the "slush fund" they had raised — as they said, to protect their interests — and had found the right hands that could be greased. It was no surprise that some of the City Fathers had been reached by the employment sharks, for graft was common there. With pimps, gamblers, prostitutes and rascally saloon keepers paying protection money to every cop and to higher-ups, graft had become a way of life in Spokane and everyone knew it.

The City Fathers not being able to find a law they could use to keep us off their streets simply concocted something of their own they called a City Ordinance. In drawing up this ordinance they were careful to point out that it was aimed at the IWW alone, and that religious bodies were exempted. So, not only were we banned, but also discriminated against. But, strange to say, no mention was made about our hall meetings. Presumably, we could holler our heads off in our hall, but did not dare to whisper on their sacred streets. Thus, we had the rights of free speech and assemblage inside our hall, but the moment we stepped outside into the street we lost those rights and became criminals. No wonder Fred H. Moore, then a young lawyer in Spokane, said that the City Ordinance did not have a leg to stand on and that any unbiased court would throw it out as unconstitutional. But there were few unbiased courts in those days. There were none at all in Spokane.

Although this ordinance had not yet been passed, and was only being discussed, it was obvious it would be enacted despite many protests. So we notified the general membership through the Industrial Worker, then printed in Spokane, to be ready when the call came to descend upon Spokane in large numbers in order to test the validity of that city ordinance on the streets, and to be prepared to fill the jails from top to bottom.

In reply to the sharks' charges that we were hurting their business, we gladly admitted that we were doing just that. But, we said,

(Continued on next page)

SPOKANE

(Continued from page 6)

It was the city's place to regulate the employment agencies and to see that they were run honestly. We pointed out that the business as operated was an evil which the city knowingly supported and did nothing to eradicate; that instead of passing an ordinance to ban dishonest practices of the agencies, the city council now proposed to deny free speech their most ed to deny free speech to their IWW critics. It all proved that city officialdom and that the rotten ingrediant was graft. We showed that it was the city council and the sharks who were conspiring to silence us with their infamous anti-free speech ordinance. But we declared that if a free speech fight was forced on us we would go through with it to the bitter end.

In the early part of October 1909 the ordinance was passed despite protests from taxpayers, socialists and labor unions. The enforcement date was set for November 1.

Though nothing had been said in prior attacks on us about closing our meetings in the hall, we were surprised that the new ordinance made no mention of our hall activity. It prohibited only our street meetings. We had thought they would try to close the hall on a phony pretext in order to deprive us of a meeting place. When no such move was made we concluded that the police wanted the hall to remain open as a place where we could be rounded up more easily than if we were scattered all over town in a hundred different places.

Whatever the motive might have been, we took full advantage of it and used our hall as a rallying point for the free speech fighters coming to Spokane from far off places. That was where we planned our strategy in the free spech fight.

Our first move after the passing of the ordinaance was to wire all IWW branches in the Northwest, California and elsewhere to get all the footloose wobblies to begin the trek "over the Hump" to Spokane. The time for a test of strength had come.

From letters and wires received at Headquarters it was clear that there would be a splendid response to the call and that we would have no difficulty making good our threat to fill their jails.

(More about the Spokane Free Speech Fight in the January Industrial Worker.)

Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology may be ordered from the IWW, 2422 N. Halsted Street, Chicago, Ill. 60614. The price is $12.50 a copy. Make yourself or a friend a Christmas present.

VIET WAR IS A BLOODY BUSINESS VENTURE

The **destruction** of life and property in Vietnam is by now an old, familiar, heartrending story. The **construction** which began modestly in 1962 with a $15 million allocation is something we don't hear about too often.

The current allocation for building jet airfields, deepwater ports, warehouses, power plants, ammunition storage depots, troop cantonments, communication stations, hospitals, highways, bridges, a new $1 million building for the U.S. Embassy in Saigon and twelve hospital surgical sites is $1 billion.

$800 million dollars of this is going to a construction combine called RMK-BRJ, composed of four American construction companies: Raymond International of New York; Morrison-Knudsen of Boise, Idaho; Brown & Root of Houston, Texas; and J. A. Jones of Charlotte, North Carolina. They are now spending $75 million annually in Viet Nam. The deadline for completion of the projects is November, 1967.

Where does the worker fit in in absorbing some of this dough?

RMK-BRJ employs 51,700, of these 4,200 are American, 41,800 Vietnamese and 5,700 so called "free-world journeymen" (international hoboes?), mainly Koreans and Filipinos. A security force of 1,000 men, 86 of whom are Americans, is required to protect the workers. Working conditions are among the worst in the world, largely because of the tropical heat and lack of sanitation.

The lowest grade American foreman on this job earns $1,000 a month, works a 60-hour week, and although his per-hour rate is somewhat lower than he would make in the U.S., his hours are longer and he gets a living allowance tacked on to his pay.

The scale for Vietnamese workers is lower than hourly rates paid by local contractors, but they also work a 60-hour week which boosts their pay. Of course, there is a labor shortage and this coupled with inflation encouraged some 14,500 workers to go out on strike last June. The strike was a total success without any apparent "leadership," and a 15% wage incrtase and some fringe benefits were granted.

What's been accomplished so far?

In Da Nang, a headquarters for 51,000 U.S. marines, RMK-BRJ will construct one of the best air and sea terminals in Southeast Asia, which will make this the second industrial center after Saigon.

In Cam Ranh Bay, one of Asia's great natural harbors, there will be a deepwater pier, Army warehouses, ammunition storage pads, storage facilities for one million barrels of petroleum products, a 10,000 foot airstrip and housing for 10,000 troops, plus wells and bridges. This spot has one of the most beautiful beaches in the Pacific and is ripe for a Hilton hotel.

In Saigon building continues, including three new piers, and expanded capacity of the water port and airport, plus the new U.S. embassy.

What about competition for RMK-BRJ?

Recently an Air Force contract with Walter Kidde Constructors, Inc. of New York was awarded for construction of an airfield and port facilities at Tuy Hoa, 225 miles north of Saigon, at an estimated cost of $52 million. Most of the work will be done by about 700 Americans, although the company may hire Vietnamese workers. On this job, the American labor force will work a 10-hour day, 7 days a week for about 4 weeks and then get a week off. They will receive up to 5% of their wagess in scrip, with the balance to be banked in U.S. accounts. At the end of the project an **Air Force** board will award the workers a bonus of up to a maximum of $1,000 each according to their behavior under a "morality code" which covers such sins as drunkenness, discourtesy and disregard for local laws. How's that for a "free" labor force?

Conclusion

Now when you hear noises about peace conferences and troop withdrawals, perhaps you'll realize that it's meaningless palaver. All this capital investment in Viet Nam — creating ports, power plants, airfields, storage facilities, providing the accoutrements of modern society — will not be turned over to the Viet Cong, the Chinese or the Russians. Nor will it be turned over to our "allies" — the Japanese, Australians, Thais, Koreans. It is our economic beachhead and again we must make our familiar point. Unless working people decide to stop killing one another and unless they learn to work together for a common constructive goal, they will continue to be the pawns of the very system that continues to need them to create its wealth. **J. R. S.**

Getting Wise to the Life of a Migrant

Arriving at the other end of the fruit tramps' rainbow, I landed in Phoenix just in time to stumble over to the slave market and get hauled out to a job. It was 5:30 in the morning. Three labor buses were still waiting for a load of field hands. Two of the three were "onions," the other was "cotton."

One of the onion drivers comes over to me and said in a friendly way, "Ever tied raw onions, son?"

"Can't say that I have," said I.

"Well, I'll drive you out and show you how," he says. And he added, "Make 30-40 dollars a day." He wasn't a man to waste words but he made them strong.

Looking into his bus I saw only five or six dead drunk winos who obviously didn't care to be bothered by ordinary farm hands. So I kept quiet.

A few minutes later: "Come on out and I'll show you how to make an honest living." It was the same onion man addressing me and a few other dings also looking for a likely master for the day. "Get on the bus, damit, I'm leaving in 15 minutes," the man-catcher yelled finally as he walked off.

One of the other tramps present then remarked, "You gotta be rich to tie onions — couldn't survive otherwise. I tried it one day and made the great sum total of $1.65."

I decided I'd be a cotton picker at $2.25 a hundred pounds. (Yes, they still use human pickers in the cotton fields here, but only for the bottom five inches of the cotton row. The big mechanical picker takes the rest.)

It took us an hour to get out 25 miles to the job. We had two breakdowns on the way. At 7:30 I began my cotton picking career.

Three hours and 20 minutes later I finished my row and took the bag, which I thought was about 40 pounds, up to be weighed. Discovered that it was only 24 pounds. Decided to quit and draw my 55 cents.

"Since you're quittin' I don't charge you for the bag," said the boss generously. "It's one privilege you got here. You can quit when you want to."

Thumbed my way back to town and got there at noon. Figuring straight working time, I had earned 16.5 cents an hour. Figuring from portal to portal like the miners, I made 7 cents an hour. **—X324352**

'Sabonjian Man' Discovered

Following disturbances in the Negro area of Waukegan, Ill. last August, Mayor Robert Sabonjian persuaded the city council to enact a "parade ordinance" requiring that the names of all persons participating in parades or demonstrations be given to police three days in advance. The first to be arrested for violating the ordinance was Frank Harris, Chairman of the Waukegan branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. He was arrested as he marched in the annual homecoming parade of the township highschool. **—Harry Fleishman**

Their are two sides in industry. "Codetermination" can't conceal the fact. Negotiations reveal it. Strikes proclaim it.

International Solidarity of Labor Should Be Union Goal

(Continued from page 1)

would have been attainable only if the arrangements for doing so and the organizational mechanics for it had been built up. They weren't.

In these years of the 1960's, this almost forgotten notion of world labor solidarity is our best hope to survive our capacity to destroy ourselves. Again, if the hope is to be real, the mechanics for it must be built up.

If the reader thinks these judgments are biased and unfounded, let him look to the judgment of experts in the field, and conservative experts at that. Three years ago the Northwestern University Press brought out a book "National Labor Movements in the Post-War World" edited by E. M. Kassalow. Mr. Kassalow has been director of research for the IUD, AFL-CIO and other unions, and has also been adviser to the International Cooperation Admnistration, ICA. The book consists of papers prepared by men in such jobs as labor attache of an embassy or labor specialist for a State Department, and given at seminars where "trade unionists, government international labor experts from the State and Labor Department as well as the United States Information Agency" etc., discussed how to maneuver the international efforts of labor against the communists.

One contributor is Mr. Steinbach, Chief of the Division of International Trade Union Organizations in the Office of International Labor Affairs, U.S. Dept. of labor. Those last 21 words make up his title, and indicate that those running this show do believe in keeping track of such matters. He writes of the development of the labor movement in the 19th century:

"The International Solidarity of Labor was the slogan under which labor united. . . The European worker . . . considered the state to be his enemy. His country was not his Fatherland. He had learned he had to fight the privileged classes if he wanted to obtain basic political rights. The international Solidarity Concept was accompanied by an international revolutionary spirit equal to the religious spirit which characterized the great sacrifies of the first Christians . . . The history of international labor up to at least the Second World War cannot be understood without studying the effects of the Solidarity Concept. The Solidarity Concept was the life blood of international labor" (p. 36) BUT "for all practical purposes, the Solidarity Concept as of today is dead in the international labor movement of Europe and it is nearly dead in most of the general trade union movements."

He writes further that back in 1949 when the conservative trade unions broke away from the World Federation of Trade Unions, leaving it to be Communist-dominated for sure, and formed the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). Under American influence they threw out all reference, in drawing up the constitution, to such old ideas as the class struggle and the overthrow of the economic system. "By doing so, without giving it any thought, they put the International Solidarity Concept into storage. Some ten years later, various European Socialist political organizations followed suit by adjusting some of their basic doctrines on class struggle and overthrow of the economic system to the advancement of the status of the workers in the given countries."

Other writers in this volume and elsewhere refer to the connection between two sets of facts: the integration of the worker of today into the national state system, and the replacement of the hope for a great social transformation with this notion of a gradually improving welfare state. Basic is the question, are all our enemies abroad or do we have some at home? Is our exploiter our ally or our enemy?

The old idea of labor solidarity didn't get lost to the communists either. Both the WFTU and the ICFTU have been active on the international field, sending out missionaries, subsidizing organization efforts, providing everything from typewriters and filing cabinets to ready-made grievance procedures, for the unions developing in the new nations.

In almost all instances the union in these newer nations is closely bound in with the new political party running each nation. The dominant parties, even when they talk about Marxism, do not want wages to go up on the grounds this would interfere with capital accumulation and economic progress. Politicians, union heads, and WFTU and ICFTU missionaries preach wage restraint and austerity for all except politicians and labor leaders. As George Lichtblau "a specialist on international labor affairs in the Dept. of State" sumarized in his report on "communist labor tactics": "The divergence of attitudes and outlooks among the trade unions engaged in international labor activities reflects international power politics in a neat microcosm." (p.93)

The one vestige of the old idea of workers sticking together noted in these papers is that mentioned by Steinbach: "It is still alive in those international labor movements which cater to specific industrial or craft groups." In short, solidarity lives where there is a current function for it to perform, and machinery through which to perform it. Lack of such machinery killed the glorious dream in 1914. What machinery can be designed today, in this world of cold war, with unions, as is made very obvious for example by the AFL-CIO Executive Council and the authors of this book, serving their governments rather than their members in world affairs?

There are many bread-and-butter occasions for setting up such machinery. If the tin miners for example in the few countries that produce any significant amount of tin, could act together for their common good, they could surely raise themselves in a world devoted to tin cans from their present uniform squalor. For unions to arrange this would of course offend those running the countries that produce the tin, and might even interfere with someone's capital accumulation, but it would surely be better unionism than the present policy.

Or, copper miners who are in much the same fix. Or seamen. Or any of the many workers increasingly pitted against each other in the market of the world. This is not something new. This is what unionism got born to do — to stop us from being used against each other. And why should we without protest go along with the idea that we should be used to bump each other off?

For the mechanics of communication between politically alienated labor movements, how about a straightforward statistical chore such as was outlined in October Industrial Worker, page 8: statistical work toward developing a social flow sheet for a world economy of welfare. Not only would the statistics be inspiring, but the process of compiling them would create the network of arrangements necessary to this old dream — a dream to be re-stated these days: Workers of the world unite, for you do have a world to save from those atom bomb maniacs.

—F. T.

Dennis Crowley:

Money, Bankers and Politicians

Money is inextricably bound up with the institution of the political state and with the concepts of the employers, bankers, lawyers, politicians and economists who profit by it or seek to justify or explain it. The IWW being strictly an industrial organization with an industrial concept of society and having as its objective the non-political scientific administration of industry, is altogether divorced from the money idea and the whimsy of the foolish money-minded men who play around with it.

In the new social order as viewed by modern thinkers there is no place for any such nonsense. The I.W.W. was among the very first revolutionary organizations to quarrel with the price and profit system on grounds of its functional inability to perform under modern conditions. Bill Haywood, Vincent St. John and others repeatedly expressed themselves on the subject of the clumsiness and uselessness of money as an integral part of our machine civilization.

The idea of the distribution of wheat, for instance, being turned over to a bunch of crazed stock-market gamblers has always seemed to be the hight of idiocy. The phrase in the IWW PREAMBLE, "Abolition of the wage system," indicates the abhorrence of the clear-cut industrialist mind for the bronze-age concept of monetary exchange either for goods or services.

The IWW objects to money being used as the only medium of exchange because of the power its ownership gives one class to exploit another class. With money, if you have it, there is security, abundance and physical well being; without it, if the employing class has deprived you of the opportunity to earn money, only worry, want and privation remain.

The way the game is played at present you must either have money or do without the things that money will buy, food, clothing, shelter, warmth and all the rest. You need money to sit at the banquet table of life, it's the root of all evil, money is a good servant, but a dangerous master. You need money if you are cringing in the shadows, trying to pick up the crumbs that fall from the plates of the parasites. Even the bitter crusts of charity are doled out cautiously, measured in terms of money.

The market is the blood-dripping alter before which the victims of capitalism worship the dollar sign, which is their highest deity. The fact that this false god has been banished by science together with many other relics of the childhood of humanity seems to make but little difference. Willing ignorance always dies hard. Even today, with money, or the lack of it, raising hell in all parts of the land, we witness the unreasuring spectacle of the "best brains in the country" attempting to stop bare-faced robbery of consumers by tinkering with money.

If any part of an automobile or af a TV set did not work any better than money does, it would be discarded and junked, to be replaced with a new part capable of doing the work expected of it. But of course the beneficiaries of the price system, regardless of social consequences, may be expected to hang unto their very profitable racket as long as it is possible for them to do so.